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PEACE NEWS

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The man of peace is a greater conqueror than the man of war.
—VICTOR HUGO.

Not a matter of organisation

THAT there is a great deal that could be improved in the Labour Party organisation we have no doubt, but this is not the main lesson to be drawn from the Interim Report on Party Organisation presented to the Margate Conference.

The plain lesson of the Report is that, while it is possible by means of high-power advertising methods for a Party with great financial resources like the Conservative Party to "sell" an essentially worthless policy that is devoid of moral appeal, it is nevertheless impossible for a Party to do this that has been built up on the enthusiasm of great numbers of people who were ready to put in a great deal of work at considerable self-sacrifice because they were inspired by the Party's objectives.

Clearly, in any sphere of life, it is only possible to organise the activities of people if there are people who are moved for some reason or other—either by ideals that appeal to them or by payment—to be active. Now when the Report gives the following examples of the things that were found to be wrong, it is obvious that, whatever may be the defects in organisation, it was not organisation that was missing here so much as men and women:

Not a house canvassed in a large city with three constituencies; in another large city what door to door work was done was mainly the work of the candidates and friends and relatives brought in from outside; in two adjacent rural areas the only election workers were the agent and candidate; in another constituency a candidate reported that "there was no organisation except that which I undertook myself."

These are only some of the instances given in the Report, and as the sub-committee remark, all those they have cited are only given as instances.

The plain fact, therefore, is that men and women are no longer inspired to work for the Labour Party as they used to be.

★ ★

In all its major aspects the Labour Party has a policy that is practically identical with that of the Conservative Party, and strikingly at variance with the things it has taught in the past.

The Labour Party it was that, in defiance of all its past teaching, fastened conscription in peace time on the youth of Britain, and except maybe in certain minor calculations on matters of expediency, there is no difference on this matter today between it and its "opponent" Party.

After opposing armaments expenditure of £70 millions per year before World War I and of £104 millions per year before World War II, it was the Labour Party that introduced the most gigantic armaments expenditure upon which this country has ever entered—£4,700 millions over three years, that is to say nearly twelve times the level it had formerly opposed.

It is the Labour Party that initially tied this country up with NATO and provided bases for American atomic bombers.

It is the Labour Party that committed this country to the manufacture of the A-bomb and prepared the way for the manufacture of the H-bomb.

And on the question of the building of the gigantic European armaments structure and the rearmament of Germany the British Labour Party has been in agreement with the British Conservatives and in disagreement with their erstwhile Socialist comrades in Germany.

The average voter may or may not agree with these policies, but he can obviously find in them no good reason for preferring the Labour Party to the Conservative Party; and as for the voter that is not average but has grown up in an atmosphere in which the traditional Labour Party assumptions have been taken for granted, where he has become convinced that the Party is right today and has therefore been wrong for the greater part of its lifetime, he has clearly been given very good reasons for doubting the whole of the assumptions upon which the Party was founded.

Whether there is a future for the Labour Party we do not know. What seems to be evident is that there can only be again the kind of inspiration that will make men and women work for a political party as they worked for the Labour Party in the earlier years of this century in an organisation that is seeking to realise clear moral objectives.

Such a Party will be different from the present Labour Party, whether it is the Labour Party reconstructed or a completely different political construction.

LETTER FROM THE USA

By A. J. MUSTE

ONLY yesterday at the fall conference of the War Resisters League we were discussing the "new climate," to wit "the spirit of Geneva." Today, reading and reflecting on the front page headlines one wonders whether the new climate exists any more.

Of course, in a sense it does. The Kremlin and the Pentagon do not want to risk getting into a nuclear war now, any more than they did during those golden summer days in Geneva.

But the point some of us made that Geneva had not dealt with any basic political issues and gave no indication that the powers had any idea of dealing with them except on a power basis—for saying which our friends sometimes charged us with being pessimists or even cynics—is being underlined with considerable clearness and in mounting detail today.

Perhaps the immense shock President Eisenhower's illness has occasioned in most if not all of the world is itself symbolic of how tenuous was the foundation on which the hopes for a peaceful and stable world were built.

The emotions men feel are, of course, in part a tribute to certain personal qualities and also to the fact that the victor turned "man of peace" is to multitudes in his own country and abroad a symbol or "father-image." This one can understand and, so far as appreciation of personal qualities goes, share.

But as soon as one begins to reflect, it is obvious that a situation in which so much depends—seems to depend, to be more exact—on one man never was so firm and promising as people thought.

We may remark in passing that this applies also to the state of the US economy. The sudden illness of Eisenhower could not

possibly have caused—it could only have touched off—the terrific crash on the stock exchange, actually registering bigger losses than were registered on the worst days in the 1929-31 crash.

At least some informed people hold the view that the policy of the Republican Party and industrial-financial leaders was to keep the market up, by any and every means, until after the 1956 Presidential election, knowing very well that it could not last much longer than that. This would go a long way toward explaining why Eisenhower's illness, which from the outset eliminated him as a candidate from next year's election knocked the props from under the market and why the recovery to date is so slow and partial.

It would be premature to say that the major crisis in the US economy on which Stalin counted so heavily has arrived, but that there are factors of genuine instability in that economy has been exposed.

Algeria and U.N.

On the international stage also turmoil has broken out.

The walk-out of French delegates from the UN Assembly over the vote on the Algerian resolution and the background of this action furnish a new reminder that France is no longer a major power, that French imperialism is dead, and that France has not arrived at a policy for dealing with these facts. The turmoil in Cyprus so shortly after British forces evacuated the Suez base, because it was not really particularly useful any more in the H-bomb age, as Churchill tried to assure his followers; the accompanying serious weakening of the Greek-Turkish-Yugoslav sector of the Western defence line; the sale of Soviet arms to Egypt; the open and increasingly

Afflicted France

FOR those who value the French attitude to life the present terrible disarray in French affairs is a distressing spectacle: rebellion and bloodshed in Algeria and Morocco; riotous colonists standing in the way of every step taken by the Government to bring peace; the French "top brass" sometimes cheating and sometimes defying the Government it has undertaken to serve; French conscript soldiers offering riotous refusal to be sent overseas to deal with the evil hash that the army generals and the colonists are creating; and the generals declaring that they will find the means of compelling their French military vassals to deal with their African serfs.

The position is obviously one that is full of danger, for so many of the generals, from Marshal Juin downwards, have made it clear that they are of the Fascist type, and there is the menace that the North African colonial lands may prove to be, not only the scene of a bloody struggle between Africans and French, but also the jumping-off ground for a bloody struggle between French and French.

M. Faure's warning

M. EDGAR FAURE, the French Premier, has now obtained the endorsement of his policy from the Assembly, although it is hardly likely that this will save his government. In addressing the Assembly he made the following notable comment:

"Soon, there will be no dependent countries in the world. Everybody today demands independence and our aim must be to go beyond the protectorate towards an association by free consent of two independent and friendly countries. If you won't settle for that, you will have nothing left at all. The French Union will disappear in blood and ruin."

The trouble is that no French Government is in a position to give an undertaking that it is working for the genuine independence of the North African peoples that is in the least likely to be believed until it has been made absolutely clear to the colonists that their reign is finished.

Certainly no Government under M. Faure is likely to do this.

There might be a possibility that M. Mendes-France could achieve it, but to put him back in power with a secure mandate to carry through such a policy there will have to be a very great shift in public opinion.

The French should realise that the days of "La Gloire" are over. They should get rid of their generals and turn their attention to the things in which they excel: world leadership in the art of living.

Brave policemen

DETECTIVE-CONSTABLE Cameron, wounded in the hands, Detective-Sergeant Chambers, shot through the arm, and PC Wood, shot in the thigh, were the three casualties in a chase of armed "smash-and-grab" thieves on Monday that ended in Curzon Street, Mayfair.

They were additional evidence, of which the police have provided other examples of late, that there is the courage available that can face unarmed the possibility of armed attack. It is to be remembered that the police

BEHIND THE NEWS

themselves have decided that it is better for them not to carry arms. We honour them for both their courage and their sense—and wish that the same courage and sense might be expressed in the field of international affairs.

Von Bonin's proposal

COLONEL VON BONIN, dismissed from the West German Defence Ministry for opposing the integration of German forces in a European army, has now made a new proposal that would seem to have possibilities for the initial consultations necessary to settle the terms of German reunion.

The Colonel, whose plan assumes a neutral Germany, proposes that there should be a council upon which Federal Germany and East Germany shall have equal representation of seven members each, but that there shall also be seven representatives of the Four Powers, appointed, however, not from their own nationals but from nations who were neutral in the last war. He stipulates, somewhat unnecessarily on the face of it, that these must be German-speaking persons, and preferably from German-speaking countries.

It is a little difficult to see where these seven are to come from on these terms, unless Colonel Von Bonin is thinking of including some of the German-speaking African areas in addition to Switzerland.

The idea of a council that would leave the balance of decision in the hands of neutrals—so long as they are neutrals in the power struggle as well as having been neutrals in the war—would seem to be worthy of consideration.

A production figure

IN his latest speech Mr. Dulles remarked that America's rate of productivity is \$400 billion a year.

This amounts to a rate of approximately \$55 per year for every inhabitant of the earth.

The production rates of the other nations of the world are not so high. Among other things they find themselves hampered somewhat in the struggle for raw materials after America has obtained what she requires. Nevertheless they all produce quite a deal.

So looking at that American figure it would appear that there could be enough for everybody, even without the assistance of atomic power, if we could find a way to settle down to enjoy it instead of quarrelling about it.

The conscription age

THE Government has decided that it will bring about by 1958 a reduction of 100,000 in the armed forces and thus release this amount of labour for industry, not by a reduction in the terms of service, but by a progressive increase in the call-up age.

Thus, during the present year, there will have been only three registrations instead of the former four, and the completion of the reduction programme will put the normal age of call-up at 19 years.

This change will have the incidental effect that the members of the tribunals for conscientious objectors will have a

slightly less sense of indecency in the carrying out of their functions than they must feel at present. It is bad enough in any case that elderly men have to deal with lads still in their teens as if they can be expected to have reached a capacity for mature judgment, but the additional year will make the business just a little less preposterous than it is at present.

Exemption for Africans

CONSCRIPTION has just been introduced for the young men of the Central African Federation.

It is to apply only to Europeans, "coloureds" and Asians, however.

The conscription of Africans would of course give an enormously greater force, but although the White Government rejects (with moments of vacillation, it is true) apartheid in favour of racial partnership it draws the line at racial partnership in military service.

It has a conscientious objection to conscription for Africans.

The Kabaka returns

THE Kabaka of Buganda returns home on Monday amid the enthusiastic, and possibly somewhat triumphant, celebrations of the Baganda, for a British Colonial Secretary had declared that he should never return from his exile which has actually lasted a fortnight short of two years.

The first elected members of the Uganda Legislative Council have now taken their seats. One of the counts upon which the British Government sent the Kabaka into exile was that he had refused to nominate further Council members as a consequence of his demand for the separation of Buganda from the rest of Uganda. This demand, however, was a counter-stroke to the fear, for which there was a good deal of foundation, that there was an intention to include Uganda in a Federation scheme on the lines of that applied to Central Africa, which would have meant bringing Buganda, with the rest of Uganda into administrative association with Kenya.

This for the Baganda was a terrifying possibility—and with reason—and it would now seem that this danger is no longer to be feared.

The Somalis in Ethiopia

IN a number of challenges to the British position that have been made in the Trusteeship Committee of the UN General Assembly the willingness of the British Government to have the matter settled by the International Court of Justice has been indicated. This applies to the Argentine challenge regarding the Falkland Islands and the Guatemalan challenge on the question of Honduras.

This makes all the more deplorable the apparent intention of the British Government to join with the Ethiopian Government in opposing the reference to the International Court of the question of the transfer of Somaliland territories to Ethiopia. Neither Ethiopia nor Britain should object to an impartial examination of the claims of the people of these territories who are petitioning.

The matter would seem to be all the graver because of the way in which the Ethiopian authorities are dealing with the Somalis now under their control. As we recorded on this page last month, following riots over a grievance regarding the payment of back taxes, seven Somalis were hanged by the Ethiopian authorities while other such hangings were to follow.

Small-time tyrants

The philosophy on which the laws relating to these drills are based "will justify anything from the arrogance of the small-time tyrants in tin hats to that of the bureaucrats who decides to tell people only what is good for them to know."

The article ends with the following comment on the June 15 pacifist protest:

"The last time there was an air-raid drill in New York, twenty-nine people were arrested in City Hall Park for openly refusing to take part in it—for refusing to flee from phantoms. Some were members of the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and one carried a sign reading, 'End War—the only defence against atomic weapons,' which is hardly a revolutionary sentiment."

"Two of the group—Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennock, of the Catholic Worker movement—have a long and honourable history of getting arrested for doing what ought to be done but no one else dares to do. In meekly running for cover, the rest of us have only compounded the dishonesty of a Civil Defence programme that is neither serious nor safe."

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A NEW Quaker

for disarmament Review Conference

The 58-page

of the United Nati

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But previously the fa £2 5s. 4d. One of the e which the PPU natura to meet is fares of men ings of National Coun this is one indication of to us.

I realise that inflation increase you have to l purchases, but, even so remember that everyth PPU more. A voluntar, say, £1 is no longer we post-war price levels.

With all the care we seem bound to rise, and donations rise in propo cut down our work, wh Will all voluntary su increase their annual sub lent of what they were welcome large donation large number of small g an "inflation donation" of these extra costs.

STUA

Our aim for the year: £ Amount received to date

Donations to the Pea be sent marked "Head PPU" Treasurer at D Endsleigh Street, Lond

RENOUCE WAR / SUPPORT OR SAN

This pledge, signed l the basis, of the P Send YOUR P.P.U. HEAD Dick Sheppard House, E

ELIMINATE VETO ON UN MEMBERSHIP

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A NEW Quaker study, "The Future Development of the United Nations," calling for disarmament agreements as a necessary condition for holding a Charter Review Conference, has just been released.

The 58-page document, timed to the opening of the Tenth General Assembly of the United Nations, was prepared for the American Friends Service Committee.

The study deals with economic and social affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and disarmament—areas of U.N. work with which Friends have had special experience.

It proposes minor procedural and charter changes but cautions, "We think it likely that even the minor Charter amendments suggested in this study would not be accepted in the absence of some form of disarmament agreement. We conclude that a prerequisite to a firm General Assembly decision to hold a Charter Review Conference must be sufficient progress on disarmament to give reasonable assurance that a disarmament agreement could precede such a conference."

The report suggests three changes in the peaceful settlement of disputes which could involve charter amendment. These are:

(1) the elimination of the veto on the peaceful settlement of disputes;

(2) elimination of the veto on U.N. membership; and

(3) elimination of the restriction on recommending terms of settlement to parties in dispute.

The present wording of Article 37 requires the Security Council to decide "that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security" before it can make recommendations for settlement.

The Quaker report holds that in the economic and social field the evolutionary approach is likely to be adequate. It cites the development in the UN's responsibility for dependent peoples that has taken place without Charter amendment. In the disarmament field, the need for Charter change will depend

on the overall requirements of a disarmament plan.

The study was prepared largely by members of the Quaker staff at the United Nations in New York and of the Quaker International Centre in Geneva. Friends have maintained official observers in New York, Geneva, and Paris, appointed by the Friends Work Committee for Consultation, to keep in touch with the United Nations and its specialised agencies. The American Friends Service Committee has worked closely with the United Nations in helping Arab, German, and Korean refugees and in other problems through cooperation with UNRRA, UNICEF, and other UN agencies.

Democratic Control of Industry

By Olwen Battersby

THE view that the next Labour Government would be forced to introduce some form of industrial democracy and workers' control was expressed by Professor G. D. H. Cole at a crowded meeting organised by the World Socialist Movement in London last week.

"And by workers' control I do not mean the sort of thing you get in the large nationalised industries, control at the Parliamentary level; I mean control at the workshop level," he said.

Parliamentary control was at best a remote control: control by civil servants. Trade union officials might represent the workers on the Managerial Board or Committee of a nationalised industry, but these members had a dual loyalty: loyalty to the management in regard to efficiency; loyalty to the workers in regard to conditions of work: these loyalties often conflicted. Joint Consultative Councils existed, but all too easily they became a farce. Workers were informed of developments only after long term plans had been laid, capital invested, plant and machinery ordered; workers themselves lost interest and refused to play.

"The workers' control in which I believe is control by sectional groups, not by the whole working-class movement," he continued. "It is control from the bottom upwards, small groups of people working side by side, within a small area, managing their own affairs, controlling their own system of promotion, with an influence extending upwards."

"I have been urging something like this ever since 1910," he admitted, "and to a decreasingly interested audience." The centralisation of the Labour Movement, the growth of trade unions, the introduction of technological devices and automation, had made workers' control more and more difficult. Where tried it had met with hostile opposition as an attempt to increase the power of shop stewards and workshop groups and to undermine loyalty to the Trade Unions. Nevertheless he believed that it must come.

The number of industries which could be covered by an all-over national plan—gas, coal, railways, electricity—had mostly been dealt with. The remaining industries—such, for example, as the boot and shoe industry where there was a multiplicity of firms all working to a different pattern—would require instead the creation of smaller democratic institutions, working side by side.

The Ford, the Austin and the Standard required in each case a different plan of work. The monolithic structure of centralised dictatorship would have to give way to the fostering of small scale co-operative production and to experiments similar to those now carried on in Yugoslavia.

If socialism was to extend, the Labour Party must find some completely new structure on which to build. Something akin to the old Guild Socialist idea was he thought the inevitable answer.

From The Editor's Notebook

Y.H.A. IN INDIA

I HAVE just been looking through the Handbook of the Youth Hostels Association of India (2796 Chamundipuram, Mysore City), compiled by the founder of YHA, E. St. John ("Jack") Catchpool, CBE.

Two thousand copies have been printed as a gift from a well-wisher to the YHA of India which Jack, as technical adviser, has played a leading part in setting up.

It's good to see how well other pacifists in India have rallied round to provide hostels, State regional secretaries and wardens.

Donald Groom of the Quaker Centre at Rasulia is regional secretary for the State of Madhya Pradesh and Ralph Keithahn for Madras. Laurie and Kuni Baker are wardens at Mitraniketan.

Many of the hostels consist of sleeping accommodation for about six men and women in schools, hospitals, mission stations, and ashrams.

There is one at Gandhi's home at Sevagram (the next one on the list is at Dehra Dun, a place with memories for the retired colonels of the old Imperial Indian Army) and another at Shantiniketan, home of poet Rabindranath Tagore.

Because I have picked out those names



COLD WAR THAW IN THE USA

Last July, an Iowa (USA) newspaper invited 12 USSR agricultural officials to study American methods of corn and pig production, as part of the USSR programme to increase farm productivity. Everywhere they went they were welcomed with enthusiasm. Farmers were ready to explain their methods, agricultural college specialists willing to demonstrate their latest techniques, and housewives eager to give them meals.

Above: Young Bruce Alleman presents an ear of corn to Vladimir Matakevitch, acting Soviet Minister of Agriculture and leader of the delegation.

£900-a-year for skilled C.O.

AT 18, a person is mature enough to make final decisions regarding his stand for peace and war. Service in the Non-combatant Corps is a help to one's country. A good education should be wasted in the interests of the National Service Act.

These were the opinions of the Leeds Tribunal when they sat during August to listen to the applications made by young conscientious objectors.

Sir Miles Archibald, Chairman of the Tribunal, told John Bowers, who became a CO after registering for military service, that at 18 he was mature enough to know his own attitude to the question of war and peace. Because "under the law of the land, you have to do some kind of service for your country," Bowers was registered for the Non-combatant Corps.

"Pushing bodies around"

Living in a remote, small village, another CO, James Ransome, had no knowledge of non-combatant service. "Now you are a decent young man," the Tribunal informed him, "Why not join the Non-combatant Corps," and without further ado, ignorant of what it entailed, James Ransome was granted service with the NCC.

Anticipating conditional exemption, a 22-year-old Quaker, John Barber, had secured a job as a hospital porter. He was told, "you have no qualifications for medical work other than pushing bodies around, and that is a waste of a good education." Nevertheless, Barber was granted conditional exemption—as a hospital porter.

Luck of the draw!

"If a conscientious objector has a valuable skill, why should it not be put to the best use?" reasoned a spokesman of the Ministry of Labour recently.

He was referring to the case of David Robertson, a dentist who had been granted conditional exemption at the London Appellate Tribunal, and who had been directed by the Ministry of Education to a £900 per annum job as a school dentist in Worcestershire.

"The country is short of dentists," said the spokesman, "so the various Ministries have put this skill to the best use. As to the salary, a called-up doctor or dentist does not go into the ranks—he gets a commission. With the rank of lieutenant or captain, there is probably very little pay difference between the Service dentist and the schools dentist."

bills, Heston said. He is the father of a month-old daughter, Debra.

"I think the boy was emotionally upset," said the Draft Board chairman, Lewis Lipton. "I have asked authorities to leave him alone, even though he certainly threw a scare into my family."

INVISIBLE EXPORT

WHEN Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, and Tom Wardle, Peace News contributor and former staff man, were in the USA on lecture tours, tape recordings were made of some of their talks.

When I met Winifred Rawlings, British pacifist now resident in the US, during her recent visit to Europe, she told me that these recordings, some of them now over a year old, were not only still going round to study groups in rural America but were still being broadcast from many radio stations.

The peace movement in Britain should consider the use of tape recordings and long-playing records to provide groups in the smaller towns and villages with talks by some of the movement's leading personalities.

A 25-minute talk on a long, player should provide plenty of material for a fireside discussion in the long winter evenings.

International body for studying radiation

THE United States plans at the present session of the United Nations General Assembly to propose the establishment of an international body to study the effects of atomic radiation on human health.

This was announced by John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, in his address to the Assembly in New York on September 22.

Mr. Dulles said the body would be composed of qualified scientists who would collate and give wide distribution to radiological information furnished by member states or UN specialised agencies.

"We believe that properly safeguarded nuclear testing and the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy do not threaten human life," he said, "but this is a subject of such transcendent concern that we believe that all available data should be sought out and pooled under United Nations auspices."

At Harwell

Scientists from Britain, Canada, the United States and Sweden met for a two-day conference at Harwell on September 19 and 20. Britain called this meeting to work out methods of checking the effects of high radiation from atomic power stations

INFLATION

"£2 8s. 8d., said the booking clerk when the chairman of the Peace Pledge Union Development Committee took his third class return ticket to London to attend the recent committee meeting. But previously the fare was £2 5s. 4d. One of the expenses which the PPU naturally has to meet is fares of members travelling to meetings of National Council and committees, and this is one indication of the meaning of inflation to us.

I realise that inflation is also reflected in the increase you have to pay for many necessary purchases, but, even so, I hope that you will remember that everything is also costing the PPU more. A voluntary annual subscription of, say, £1 is no longer worth 20s. to us, even at post-war price levels.

With all the care we exercise, PPU expenses seem bound to rise, and unless subscriptions and donations rise in proportion we shall have to cut down our work, which nobody would wish.

Will all voluntary subscribers please try to increase their annual subscriptions to the equivalent of what they were? Although we always welcome large donations, we rely mainly on a large number of small gifts. So, please, send us an "inflation donation" this week to cover some of these extra costs.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000
Amount received to date: £621

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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THE LABOUR PEACE FELLOWSHIP Against war — for international socialism

By RON HUZARD

THERE has always been a pacifist and anti-militarist tradition in the British Labour Movement. Keir Hardie once put it into words when he said: "War is murder. When the workers defy the call of the Governments to murder each other, there will be no more war."

This feeling has asserted itself from time to time. It has always been voiced by a minority within the Movement. It was reflected in the opposition of the Independent Labour Party to the First World War; the "Hands off Russia" campaign in 1919, the fight against peace-time conscription and, more recently, the struggle against German rearmament. In the Thirties the Labour Party had as its leader a leading pacifist, George Lansbury.

The Labour Peace Fellowship was founded in 1940, consisting of those Labour Party members who take the pacifist stand in opposition to all war. They were only a small minority. In particular they worked for an early negotiated peace against the "unconditional surrender" policy and bombing of civilians.

After Labour's great victory in the 1945 election, the LPF continued its fight against military policies. The consistent stand of a group of Labour MPs against peace-time conscription is well known.

Opposition to repression in the colonies and to rearmament has been voiced by the Fellowship; as an alternative the LPF has stressed the need for waging a vigorous campaign to attack world poverty and to speed up plans for economic assistance and self-determination for all colonial peoples.

Stand with India

The Fellowship rejects Britain's tie-up with the American military and cold war policies and believes the country should adopt a similar stand in world affairs to that of India: working for reconciliation between the Communist and non-Communist blocs.

Two years ago the Fellowship changed its name to the Labour Peace Fellowship, and expanded both its membership and its activities.

Members of the LPF are active in local branches of the Labour Party; in their appropriate trade unions and in the Co-operative Movement. They are democrats, throwing their ideas into the pool of discussion and influencing policy decisions, whilst working loyally for the Party organisation. In the last General Election 24 LPF members stood as official Labour candidates and 11 members are Labour MPs in the present Parliament. Every year during the Labour Party annual conference, the Fellowship organises a public meeting to keep the peace issue before delegates and visitors.

The LPF believes that the Labour Party, despite its many shortcomings (appreciated no less by pacifist critics outside), is still the only political instrument capable of bringing about social advance at home and a radical change in this country's foreign and defence policies.

The LPF works for a socialist society believing that the capitalist society itself is one of the main obstacles to the elimination of war. The struggles for markets, fields of investment and military bases overseas have in the past led to colonial conquest and clashes between rival states.

Lansbury's view

The Fellowship believes that the place for peace-workers is inside the Labour Movement, helping to replace the present economic order based on private profit with one planning for the well-being of all.

In his booklet, "Why Pacifists should be Socialists," George Lansbury wrote:

"Pacifists who are not socialists and have not thought out the implications of our economic system, are likely to find their most earnest efforts barred and defeated... Peace and imperialism cannot go hand in hand—that is the same as saying that peace and capitalism cannot go hand in hand."

This sums up well the basic approach of the LPF.

The Labour Peace Fellowship invites all who share its views to join it in its work for peace and socialism. It is the only group that is against all war and is socialist as well. Full particulars are available from the General Secretary, T. J. Comerford, 46 Robin Hood Way, Greenford, Middlesex. Its paper the "Labour Peace Leader" is issued six times a year.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi
in 1903

For the moral, political and
social advancement of Indians
in South Africa

Published Every Friday
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APPLY

The Manager
Indian Opinion

P. Bag, Phoenix, Natal, S. Africa

The American Friends Service Committee pamphlet, "Speak Truth to Power," is being summarised in Peace News by Alfred Parker. This, the fifth section, presents—

The choice that offers hope

THE three major assumptions of the American people considered to be in error, according to the booklet* that has been summarised in these columns during the last few weeks are:

1. That a constructive programme for peace could be carried on simultaneously with a programme for military defence;
2. That the Soviet Union is the source of our problems; and
3. That force is the only realistic means of dealing with international problems.

America's discussion of peace, however sincere, has been carried forward on too shallow a basis. If the underlying presuppositions of policy are false, discussion of the policies themselves is idle business. We believe the real choice lies between continuing to deal with international problems on the old basis of military power and attempting to deal with them on the new and revolutionary basis of non-violence. Faced with such a choice, and cognisant of the dangers of moving into a largely unknown and unexplored area, we must still choose, and urge others to choose, the second alternative.

We make this choice for moral reasons. Our faith insists that God did not create men to hate, nor establish His law so that peace could emerge from fury. Man is answerable for his actions, and can neither violate his faith on pleas of urgency nor escape his moral responsibility by the simple device of turning it over to others.

The US government itself insisted on this principle at the Nürnberg war crimes trials; we believe it applies equally at home, for we do not recognise the existence anywhere of a double standard of morality that justifies conduct in the name of the state that would be reprehensible in the name of God.

We make the choice because we believe that democracy is the noblest philosophy of social organisation that man has yet developed, and we are convinced that under modern conditions democracy and militarism are incompatible. Gandhi, who understood the nature of power as well as any man in our time, put it explicitly:

"There is no escape from the impending doom save through bold unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method. Democracy and violence go ill together. The States that today are nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

* Is. 9d. from Housmans Bookshop (Peace News) or 25 cents from any AFSC office.

Phyllis Vallance

PHYLLIS VALLANCE, whose death was announced in Peace News last week, was a woman who all her life commanded an extraordinary amount of love and loyalty (which she returned a hundredfold) from great numbers of strangely diverse people.

She numbered among her friends many famous people in all walks of life, and unquestionably she could herself have been a famous actress, for when she graduated as a gold medalist from the Central School of Dramatic Art, Barry Jackson offered her a permanent place in the cast of the now famous Birmingham Repertory Company.

Had she accepted this offer and come to London with "The Famer's Wife," which had a record run at the Royal Court Theatre, her name would have been made.

She preferred marriage and children and never seemed to hanker after that discarded stage career. Her interest in the theatre, however, never abated, though it is perhaps true that poetry was her real passion.

Her rich knowledge and understanding of this medium was almost phenomenal; she could complete a quotation from Pope or Dryden to Gilbert and Sullivan or Lear; and she could remember and recite from most poets including Shakespeare.

Those who heard her at the recent Summer Conference at Borth will not soon forget her dramatic rendering of the Brutus and Cassius quarrel scene from "Julius Caesar," spoken without prompting and without faltering.

She was no mean poet herself, and had poems published under the pseudonym of Peter Renny and her maiden name, Phyllis Reid.

She was born in Birmingham into a Liberal and Unitarian background, and her mother, Edith Taylor, was a well-known suffragist (non-militant) from whom, plainly she inherited an ardent feminism; she was herself for many years Chairman of the Six Point Group, a well-known equalitarian organisation.

She was a pacifist of long standing, and loyally supported many of her friends who were conscientious objectors in the first world war.

She joined the PPU in 1944 and was elected to represent the London Area on National Council in 1948. In 1951 and 1953 she was one of the six nationally elected members, and though she failed in the election this year she was much consoled for her disappointment by her election to the Chairmanship of the London Area.

She knew five years ago when she had her first illness that her heart was permanently damaged, but she was not the kind of person to accept willingly an invalid's life.

Those who saw her at Borth, swimming and diving through the waves, and teaching her beloved grandson, David, to do the same, will know that her last summer holiday was rich in happiness and well-being, which in any case, had she lived, she might never have enjoyed again.

She chose to ignore invalidism, and those who loved her best, and will miss her most, will not grudge her the right to have made her own choice.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Modern conditions have brought us to the end of the military road. Our choice is not one that the US has ever made before. It is a radical choice requiring new attitudes, new risks and it may be new suffering.

We suggest that from now on, peace will not be for the strong, but for the just, and further, that there will neither be peace until men learn to be just, nor justice until men determine to renounce violence.

Irresponsible Anti-Militarism

Campaigns to demobilise and "bring the boys home"; pressures for a quick "return to normalcy"; insistence on lower taxes and smaller military budgets; and drifts toward isolationism, may be sincere expressions of a war-weary people, but they are not pacifism.

We, therefore, dissociate ourselves from the basically selfish attitude that has been mis-called pacifism, but that might be more accurately described as a kind of irresponsible anti-militarism. We dissociate ourselves also from Utopianism. Though the choice of non-violence involves a radical change in men, it does not require perfection.

Man can rise to noble heights, but he must first free himself from the compulsions of fear and the pressures of conformity.

Nor is this assertion of man's capacity to rise to noble heights only a philosophical conjecture.

A concrete demonstration exists in the Indian campaign for independence, in which multitudes of men and women, without being raised to individual sainthood, were able to make an entirely new response to injustice and humiliation. Ordinary people were enabled to find new courage and self-respect, were able to overcome hostility toward an enemy, and to endure physical suffering, imprisonment and other outrages without resorting to violence in return.

The failure of Indians always to live up to Gandhi's exacting standards only underscores their humanity, and establishes the very point we are here making: it is not necessary to wait until a nation is made of saints to call forth other attitudes and responses than those which have for so long held men in the bondage of hatred and violence.

Thus we believe that while man's nature makes war possible, it does not make war inevitable. We must face individually the need for an ultimate and fundamental break with violence. There is, we believe, no other way to eliminate the scourge of war. Man must put aside his barren militarism and dare to embark courageously on the search for non-violent solutions to his problems. Moreover, the choice is inescapable. It will be made, either deliberately or by default.

Peace-making not restricted to pacifists.

In thus insisting on the rejection of violence as a method, we do not imply that all men must become pacifist. Rather our reading of history indicates that without the unconditional acceptance of an ideal by a minority, the vision and perseverance required to move the world in the direction of that ideal will be lacking.

Specifically in the present situation, we believe the unconditional acceptance of non-violence by a growing number of committed men and women is necessary to provide the dynamic, and create the atmosphere, in which order can replace anarchy in the international community.

Nor do we imply in stressing the importance of a pacifist commitment, that the devoted work of non-pacifist individuals and agencies on behalf of peace is unimportant.

The greater number of concerned people who labour for constructive policies, but who refrain from challenging the need for military power, make a major contribution in checking the growth of tension and preventing the outbreak of hostilities.

We have shared in many of their past undertakings, and expect to share in future efforts.

All these efforts, and many more, have provided a climate of patience, and facilitated agreements in marginal areas that have kept down international temperatures.

But we believe something more is needed if men are to find the inspiration and the wisdom finally to banish war from the international scene. Great goals are always costly, and we doubt there is any road to peace save that which for many leads through suffering and sacrifice. Indeed, we go further and say that paying this price is the most relevant political and spiritual act of our day.

Next week we shall discover what this involves in personal and political terms.

By-elections must be fought

THE current Books Number of "UNCOMMON SENSE" has a forthright editorial by Ronald Mallone affirming that

- (1) in God's world only God's way works;
- (2) in disarming Peter, Jesus disarmed all Christians;
- (3) present Party politics with blind allegiance enforced in the Labour and Tory Parties by Whips is fatal to principles;
- (4) therefore by-elections must be fought by a new group, which unlike Labour and Tories, has not backed re-arming Germans, forcing our boys to learn to kill, handing bases over to foreigners, making hydrogen and atomic bombs.

A twelve-page supplement states the case against making and testing hydrogen bombs now. Films reviewed by Veronica Maddingley, play by Patrick Richards and there is poetry and numerous book reviews on art, cricket, politics, etc., by Byron Ireland, Stephen Parnell, Austin Gaffney, Malcolm Tattersall, etc. It is 9d. (post 1½d.) from Woolcombe House, 141 Woolcombe Rd., Blackheath, S.E.3.

The Responsibility

"The Responsibility," by Peter Appleton, has been reproduced in leaflet form by the Friends Peace Committee through the courtesy of The Listener. The leaflets, obtainable at 5s. 100 from Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, also bear a background picture of an exploding atom bomb.

I am the man who gives the word,
If it should come, to use the Bomb.

I am the man who spreads the word,
From him to them if it should come.

I am the man who gets the word
From him who spreads the word
from him.

I am the man who drops the Bomb
If ordered by the one who's heard
From him who merely spreads the word

The first one gives if it should come.

I am the man who loads the Bomb
That he must drop should orders come

From him who gets the word passed on
By one who waits to hear from him.

I am the man who makes the Bomb
That he must load for him to drop
If told by one who gets the word
From one who passes it from him.

I am the man who fills the till,
Who pays the tax, who foots the bill
That guarantees the Bomb he makes
For him to load for him to drop

If orders come from one who gets
The word passed on to him by one
Who waits to hear it from the man
Who gives the word to use the Bomb.

I am the man behind it all;

I am the one responsible.

That is the question

To Be Or Not To Be, by Wallace Hancock.
Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ,
4d.

THIS pamphlet is a clear, compact, and stimulating summary of the case for and against pacifist participation in politics. It would be foolish to try to summarise it further, but it is probably fair to say that Wallace Hancock finds the main obstacle to such participation in the radical divergence between the aims of the Christian pacifist and those of the politician.

The politician represents ordinary men and women... he is the mouthpiece for the "rights of man" which in practice means the rights of his class, the rights of his nation, his demands for increased living standards, his concentration on material wellbeing and possessions, his security.

The Christian pacifist, on the other hand, will think in terms of service and self-sacrifice, and you can't expect to get a mass vote for that. On the other hand, people are now prepared to accept, to an extent which would have seemed incredible fifteen years ago, much of the pacifist point of view. In a world where American rulers actually say, and Russian rulers probably think, that war is no longer the sane man's alternative to anything, it looks as though disarmament can be achieved once people can be brought to draw the proper conclusions from their anti-war premises.

But can they be brought to draw the proper conclusions? Wallace Hancock uses an analogy which is perhaps too optimistic. He compares the new willingness to question the traditional methods of defence to the willingness of a man to give up strong drink in order to save money.

Would the teetotaler welcome my association in the cause of total abstinence if I were a teetotaler not for any moral reason, but because I wanted to save money to pay off the mortgage on my house?

I think in fact that a decision to give up beer in order to pay off a mortgage is a moral decision. But leaving aside definitions of morality, the flaw in the analogy is that the mortgagee would actually stop drinking

ON PAGE FIVE

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday Oct. 16th
King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1
(N. at Bond St. Tube)
Discourse by
Rev. Stanley Evans M.A.

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French ca writing of

OUR compliments to who in "The V (Home), was not surprised and ourselves are very decided to buy arms Britain, France and between themselves to East Countries only of not be used against c

He did not omit to Egyptians are free to will." Seeing that is all still looking for the c All the world knows arms given by Chri countries are too h moral for war purg thus "the West will ha consult with the East the Middle East probl Our attitude, as usual altruistic: "the Middle is vital to us—it conta world's reserves of oil.

"Liberté-Egalité-Frat public walls in France. nothing does not in d mercurial friends acro ourselves they are enj us we have committed i than the rest of the wo basis for mutual este We can appreciate w in "At Home and Abro us to agree that the " Algeria should never ha that those who did rais "mind their own busi is becoming a "pe body."

Very forthright Mon recent statement that was permanent and irre that France recognises interests of the inhabita (non-self-governing) st (Article 2. (7)). It was Algerian opinion prote: that the matter was ra

The momentous event obsolescence of war, de as the sine qua non fo wards a new conditi alarming prospect of p the final arbiter in al nomic and racial probl bewildered.

In the discussion " Kenneth Younger, form answering Gilbert McA mediate international c nothing beyond the p "did not pretend to h (presumably meaning n real conflicts: class war The time may come Soviet Union submittr As an immediate progra tion), it is not on... Y seriously in government.

In short, the present continue; useless armi until the suspicion they Why ask whether Rus our own government is The only alternative to a dead world, our laboriously practising t heavens they are first cla

Friday, October
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.
St. Policy meeting. Cent. L

WARRINGTON: 7.30 p.m.
H. Buttermarket St. Eric me. Northern Friends Peace I

Saturday, October
LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m.; Fri Hunter St. Area mig: busi PPU.

MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.
H. Moul St. Peace Par Stuart Morris.

Sunday, October
LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; Home Church, Binney St. (N. Pacifist Universalist Service. Di Stanley Evans, MA. Religio PPU.

BELLINGHAM: 3.30-6 p.m. Francis Noble. "Peace thro 8 p.m.; Film, "Children of I

Monday, October
BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m.; Public St. "Children of Hiroshim Tickets 1s. 2½d. from Mrs. Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.

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Pacifists and Politics

FROM PAGE FIVE

beer. Our case is more like that of the alcoholic, who finds it difficult to stop drinking, although a narrow escape from a fatal accident may for a time frighten him on to the water-wagon. If the vitamin deficiency, or whatever else is the source of his alcoholism, is not dealt with, he will sooner or later hanker after the old comforter, whatever the consequences. Clearly the pacifist must get busy with the vitamins. Before doing so, he will do well to read Wallace Hancock!

GEOFFREY CARNALL

my name, people may begin to do the things I believe in."

If I may also comment on Marjorie Hamlyn's letter (September 30), I suggest that a good way to stir our imagination about such a situation as Goa represents is to try to see it in reverse.

Let us suppose that, some four centuries ago, European civilisation was suffering from decay, whilst the Easterners, from Asia, were full of vigour and enterprise. First came the Koreans (Portuguese), then the Japanese (French), last the Chinese (British). The Koreans established themselves at Plymouth and took control of parts of Devon and Cornwall. Later, the Japanese made Hull their base. Finally the Chinese occupied all the rest of Britain and a good deal of Western

★ ON PAGE SIX

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Anniversary Weekend

October, 29-30, 1955

CONFERENCE OF AREA AND GROUP SECRETARIES AND TREASURERS

(All other members welcome)

Chairman: Ron Barnes

MARY WARD LECTURE ROOM

Tavistock Place, W.C.1

Saturday, October 29, 2-4 p.m.

FIELD WORK (Opener: Frederick Forder)

4-5.30 p.m.

FINANCE (Opener: Geoffrey Tattersall)

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

Tavistock Square, W.C.1

Sunday, October 30, 10-12 a.m.

THE FUTURE OF THE PPU

An "Any Questions?" Session

Anniversary Gathering

In the Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Place

Saturday, October 29, 6-9 p.m.

SOCIAL EVENING

Frank Merrick

will play the piano

Arlo Tatum

will sing

Michael Tippett

will preside

Admission by Ticket (price 2s. 6d., including refreshments), which must be purchased in advance from the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Letters to the Editor

The Price of Peace

IN his broadcast talk on "The Price of Peace" Sir Llewellyn Woodward raised the question of what is to take the place of war in an age in which violence has overreached itself.

It is perhaps the most important problem of our time and the future of mankind may depend on its solution.

He did misrepresent the pacifist position and he did not find an answer, but it is likely that many listeners were made to face the problem for the first time, and for that reason I cannot agree with Peace News that his talk was futile. Anyone who listened to Sir Llewellyn with an open mind must have been aware of his obvious sincerity and deep concern.

Joseph Fleming's radio comment on "The Price of Peace," therefore, seems to be in singularly bad taste and irrelevant to a degree.

It is all very well to be funny at the expense of pompous generals, civil defence officials and speakers of that kind who pretend to know all the answers, when they have not even grasped the question, but it is hardly good enough to ridicule the honest attempt of a non-pacifist to present the situation as he sees it.

We, as pacifists, believe we have an inkling of the answer to the question Sir Llewellyn put. But few of us were born pacifists—we had to grope our way, and it was not always easy. I am wondering just how many non-pacifists, who are nevertheless earnest seekers, we shall convince of the rightness of our answer so long as we appear to regard their groping as a fitting target for facetious comments.

HILDA VON KLENZE.

6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Joseph Fleming comments: *One did not require an open mind to be aware of Sir Llewellyn Woodward's obvious sincerity and concern—a vacant mind was ideal. It so happens we know he is fully conversant with pacifist answers to the problem and we are satisfied his misrepresentation of the pacifist position was a contribution to the concerted Western policy to exaggerate the terrors of world peace.*

Why Hilda von Klenze agrees to agree is appropriate for pompous generals, Civil Defence officials, etc., who pretend to know all the answers, and that a professor—who has had access to British Foreign Policy Papers, is a recognised authority on peace and war and knows all the answers—deserves serious consideration for a distorted spurious presentation.

GENEVA

A MESSAGE TO THE MINISTERS
PUBLIC MEETING

Speakers:

BERTRAND RUSSELL, Prof. C. F. POWELL FRs.
Sir RICHARD COPPOCK

Central Hall, Westminster. Friday, October 21 7.30 p.m.

Doors open 7 p.m.

Admission 1s

Sponsored by: Earl Russell, Lord Boyd Orr, Prof. C. F. Powell
Tickets from C. HAMP, 37 Newton Rd., W.2., or at door

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship APF; Fellowship of Reconciliation FOR; Peace Pledge Union PPU; Society of Friends SoF; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom WILPF.

WILDESDEN: 8 p.m.: Kensal Rise Methodist Ch. Rev. Leonard P. Barnett, BD. "Is National Service a Necessity?" Chair. John Ferguson, MA., BD. For.

Tuesday, October 18
DOWNHAM: 8 p.m.: Wesley Hall, Downham Way. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets 1s. 2d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.

Wednesday, October 19
BRISTOL: 7 p.m.: Friends Ho., Broadweir. Freda Ehlers, "Third Way Conference." PPU.
LEWISHAM: 8 p.m.: St. Mark's Hall, Clarendon Rise, Nr. Lewisham Obelisk, "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets 1s. 2d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.

Thursday, October 20
SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m.: IPF Centre, 74 Norfolk Rd. Coming-of-age of the PPU celebrated with a Mock Cullers Feast. Guest, Tom Wardle. PPU.
CATFORD: 8 p.m.: St. Lawrence's Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets 1s. 2d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.
LONDON, W.1: See advertisement page 6.

Friday, October 21
DOWNHAM: 8 p.m.: St. Luke's, Northover, "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets 1s. 2d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.: 208 Clyde St., Peace Pledge Union Group mtg.
WYTHENSHAW: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. House, Wythenshawe Rd. Wilfred Wellock, "Peace and the New Materialism." PPU.

Saturday, October 22
EPSOM: 7.30 p.m.: Methodist Ch. Hall, Ashley Rd. Mtg. to discuss future activity. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, Sec., Mrs. Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashted, Surrey.
BRISTOL: 3 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Gloucester Rd. Sybil Morrison. Tea 4.30 p.m. Famous Western Area Produce Auction. Western Area AGM and rally. PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 6.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Film show: "World Without End" and supporting programme. PPU.

Sunday, October 23

CATFORD: 8 p.m.: St. Lawrence's Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets 1s. 2d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.

Monday, October 24

TONBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.: Adult School, Danvers Rd. Rev. Alan G. Knott, B.Sc. "Why Christians are not Pacifists." Public Mtg. For.

Tuesday, October 25

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m.: Town Hall (nearest stn. Catford Bridge). Donald O. Soper, Sybil Morrison. Chair. Rev. Mark Shirley. Adm. free.

Friday, October 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. "Peaceful co-existence." Nancy Edmunds. Cent. London PPU.

Saturday, October 29

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m.: Mary Ward Lecture Room, Tavistock Pl. Conf. of Area and Group Secretaries and Treasurers. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Pl. Social evening, 6-7 p.m. refreshments: 7-9 p.m. Frank Merrick, Arlo Tatum, Michael Tippett. (See advert. above.)

Sunday, October 30

LONDON, W.C.1: 10 a.m.: Friends International Centre. "The Future of the PPU." "Any Questions?" session. PPU.

Friday, November 4

GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.: 208 Clyde St., Peace Pledge Union Group mtg.

Saturday-Sunday, November 5-6

CRICH, Nr. Matlock: 3.30 p.m.: The Briers Guest House. Week-end Conference "In Search of Greater Understanding." Guest Speaker: Minnie Pallister. Details from Gordon Woodburn, 34 Park Grove, Derby. PPU.

Sunday, November 6

HOLTON BECKERING: 8 p.m.: Holton Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." Special bus leaves Lincoln G.P.O., Guildhall St., 7.30 p.m. PPU.

Tuesday, November 8

GRANTHAM: 7.30 p.m.: The Picturehouse Cafe. "Children of Hiroshima." PPU.

Wednesday, November 9

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m.: Hinckley Rd., Methodist Church Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. reprints: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM. People's Peace Committee. Ronald Casassa (straight from Labour Party Conference), and Avis Clarke (just back from China), at the Midland Inst., Sat., 15, at 7 p.m., "Keep the Spirit of Geneva Alive."
KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace." Sunday, 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Rev. Claud Colman, M.A., B.Litt.
MANCHESTER PEACE Committee. "The Foreign Ministers must agree." Hear Roland Casassa (Trade Union Chairman) and Dr. S. M. Hillon (Sec. Science for Peace) at World Security Rally, Lesser Free Trade Hall, Sunday, Oct. 23, at 7.30 p.m. Adm. 6d.
SCIENTIST DISCUS China. Prof. Bernat, Prof. K. Lonsdale, Dr. J. Needham, Chair: Dr. H. J. Lewis. Wed., Oct. 19, 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Reserved seats, 2s. 6d.; 1s. Apply to British China Friendship Assoc., 228 Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1.

ACCOMMODATION

HARROGATE AND DISTRICT. Pacifist requires three bedrooms house or flat before present tenancy expires at end of Oct. Can any Yorkshire pacifist help? Kind, 33 Kent Rd., Harrogate, Yorks.
HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340, Telcea Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shaylor for board or bed and breakfast.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3 PR1306 5686.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. B.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

BOOKS WANTED. Large quantities collected anywhere, Peter Eaton (booksellers) Ltd., 154 Notting Hill Gate, W.11.
DOX IMPREGNATED non-washable dusters; 3 varieties; furniture and leather, chromium and glass, cutlery and silver. 2s. 6d. each. Snewin, Gilsland, Carlisle. 10 per cent to P.N.

HOLIDAYS

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LITERATURE

BOOKS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION are available from Housmans Bookshop. Profits on sales help Peace News. Why not order all your books from Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4?

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' House, Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

READ the Labour Peace Leader. Organ of the Labour Peace Fellowship. 1s. 9d. per annum. 46 Robin Hood Way, Greenford, Middlex.

PERSONAL

AUBREY BROCKLEHURST, qualified watchmaker, offers wide selection of new watches with genuine guarantees. Enquiries welcomed: articles sent on approval. All types of watch, clock, and jewellery repairs. Old gold or silver purchased. 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. Tel.: EUSTON 5501.

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THE FOREIGN MINISTERS must agree: tell your M.P. on National Day of Deputations to Parliament, Oct. 25. For details apply British Peace Committee, 81 City Rd., E.C.1. CLE. 0383.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a male aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employer, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

THE WARDENSHIP of "The Mount" Conference Centre at Haverhill, Suffolk, established by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is becoming vacant. Applications are invited before Nov 9. Minimum Salary £300 p.a. plus board and accommodation. Initiative is essential and finds scope. Write for particulars to The Secretary, Fellowship House Haverhill Ltd., 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

MABEL EYLES. Duplicating Service, 395 Hornsey Road, N.19. (ARC. 1765).

French can't see the writing on the wall

OUR compliments to Bickham Sweet-Escott, who in "The World and Ourselves" (Home), was not surprised "the USA, France and ourselves are very excited that Egypt has decided to buy arms from eastern Europe. Britain, France and America had agreed between themselves to give arms to Middle East Countries only on condition they would not be used against one another."

He did not omit to inform us that "the Egyptians are free to buy arms where they will." Seeing that all they are doing, we are still looking for the cause of the excitement. All the world knows that arms given by Christian countries are too highly moral for war purposes, thus "the West will have to consult with the East on the Middle East problem." Our attitude, as usual, is altruistic: "the Middle East is vital to us—it contains 60 per cent of the world's reserves of oil."

RADIO
by
Joseph
Fleming

"Liberté-Egalité-Fraternité" adorns most public walls in France. That it means precisely nothing does not in the least disconcert our mercurial friends across the Channel. Like ourselves they are empire builders. Between us we have committed more colonial atrocities than the rest of the world combined—a secure basis for mutual esteem.

We can appreciate why the French reporter in "At Home and Abroad" (Home), expected us to agree that the "burning question" of Algeria should never have been raised in UN; that those who did raise it should be told to "mind their own business," and that UNO is becoming a "permanent anti-colonial body."

Very forthright Monsieur, but M. Faure's recent statement that "Algeria's integration was permanent and irrevocable" was a denial that France recognises "the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories (non-self-governing) shall be paramount" (Article 2. (7)). It was because representative Algerian opinion protested, and was ignored, that the matter was raised in the Assembly.

The momentous event of human history, the obsolescence of war, dethrones power politics as the sine qua non for manoeuvrability towards a world conditioned for peace. The alarming prospect of peaceful negotiations as the final arbiter in all future political, economic and racial problems leaves politicians bewildered.

In the discussion "One World" (Home), Kenneth Younger, former Minister of State, answering Gilbert McAllister's case for immediate international co-operation could see nothing beyond the positional present. He "did not pretend to have a simple solution (presumably meaning none); there are many real conflicts: class war, living standards . . . The time may come . . . Can you see the Soviet Union submitting to world control? As an immediate programme (world co-operation), it is not on . . . You do not find it taken seriously in government."

In short, the present asinine impasse must continue; useless armies must be retained until the suspicion they provoke evaporates! Why ask whether Russia would agree when our own government is not interested?

The only alternative to "One World" being a dead world, our political Neros are laboriously practising the requiem. Thank heavens they are first class fiddlers!

Friday, October 14

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. Policy meeting. Cent. London PPU.
WARRINGTON: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Buttermarket St. Eric Tucker. Public mtg. Northern Friends Peace Board.

Saturday, October 15

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. Area mtg.: business, field wk. PPU.
MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. Peace Parade. Speaker: Stuart Morris.

Sunday, October 16

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.: King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Rev. Stanley Evans, MA. Religion Commission, PPU.
BELLINGHAM: 3.30-6 p.m.: Pacifist Rally. Francis Noble, "Peace through Strength." 8 p.m.: Film, "Children of Hiroshima."

Monday, October 17

BROMLEY: 8 p.m.: Public Library, High St. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets 1s. 2d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Universities and the Call-up

★ FROM PAGE FIVE

Europe. By the beginning of the twentieth century the demand for political freedom became very strong among the Europeans, and in 1947 the Chinese agreed to withdraw. A few years later the Japanese withdrew from Hull. Thereupon the British began to say to the Koreans in Plymouth: "It is time for you to quit." "Quit," reply the Koreans, "why should we quit? Don't you realise that Plymouth is part of Korea, and has had the blessings of Korean civilisation for over four centuries? We shall not think of quitting." Well, now, if we were faced with that situation, what should we do?

There is my rhetorical question!

HORACE ALEXANDER.

144 Oaktree Lane,
Birmingham, 29.

Student's viewpoint

MAY I draw attention to one aspect of the revised plans for National Service which appears to have been overlooked. The gradual raising of the age of entry to—and

two years—particularly in the Sciences and Mathematics. I have seen too many of my friends make heavy weather of their First Year for this reason, not to appreciate just how difficult it is to come back to an academic way of life after two years in the Army, where one is trained not to think. In the future the would-be student will not only have two years in the Forces, but an increasing period of waiting before he can even enter the Forces, to contend with.

The student who is fortunate enough to select a University that allows him to complete his National Service after his studies presents a less acute problem.

However, there is a problem, even if it tends to be personal rather than sociological.

After having completed a Degree course a man has reached an age when, if he were free, he would be thinking in terms of a settled career and marriage. The Government takes him from this to put on a wig and swallow-tail coat in a mess.

The CO is worse off than the conscript. The conscript at least gets a marriage allowance. Only too often the CO is doing jobs for which the remuneration is less than enough to keep himself.

The penalties for Conscientious Objection are financial as well as social.

Furthermore, the two year break after graduation means another opportunity to forget one's learning. A Degree is not a training for a particular job, but a training for the mind. Nevertheless, certain courses are more specifically training, and two years' complete break can destroy a great deal of their value. I am thinking particularly of such courses as Engineering, Social Science, and Education. Medicine presents no problem—except for the CO who refuses the RAMC as his Service.

It seems that Government policy in this matter is going to cause things to deteriorate, not improve.

ANTONY R. COTTAM.

University of Bristol Union.

Catholic pacifists

MAY I write briefly to correct some points in Mr. England's very misleading letter (September 23) "For Catholic Pacifists."

The PAX group is not completely non-denominational in character, but is a Christian Society with "a Catholic anchorage." Its constitution lays down that the Chairman of PAX and at least seven other members of its council of twelve shall be Catholics. PAX has always tried, and is still trying, to cater for the needs of Catholic pacifists.

MARGARET M. MAISON, M.A., Ph.D.,
Secretary, PAX.

133 Hadley Rd.,
Barnet.

IN PEACE NEWS NEXT WEEK

A special issue will appear next week featuring "Work Camps for Peace" and "United Nations Day."

SYBIL MORRISON

Sybil Morrison is on holiday. Her next article will appear in Peace News on October 28.

Labour should declare itself against all imperialism

● FROM PAGE ONE

"the friend of all those who have not yet secured their independence."

There was taking place in the world today the great progressive revolution of this century he continued: the movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean—and we must now add the Mediterranean—for equality with the white races of the world.

We had been accustomed to divide the world into two great power blocs: to speak of the Soviet bloc, and the Western bloc. But there was also a third: that great group of people who did not yet enjoy self-government, or who had been liberated from colonialism only since the last war.

It was a strange fact that the peoples in these three groups were almost identical in their numbers. There were 800 million people in the Western bloc; 800 million in the Eastern bloc; 800 million in this last group.

A new power group

Sometimes it was said that this third group of people would have little influence because they had little material power. To say so, was, he believed to misjudge the moral influence of public opinion. Moreover, the potential wealth of these countries was incalculable—in foodstuffs—rice, wheat and barley—and in copper, gold and uranium.

By the end of this century he believed that the peoples of Africa and Asia would in education, influence, and even in material power, be equals of any power group in the world.

This fact was of extraordinary importance for the cause of peace.

For the position taken by Premier Nehru in standing aside from the Russian and American blocs, seeking to create an area of peace and mediation, was the position taken by all the dependent peoples and their leaders. The liberation of the colonial peoples would be a liberation of the forces for peace.

After referring to the influence which had been exercised by these so-called backward nations at the United Nations, at the Geneva conference which had led to the ending of the war in Indo-China, and through the recent Bandung conference, he besought the Labour Party that it should declare itself against all imperialism (loud applause); that it should be

concerned not only with the lifting of the British standard of life, but with fair shares throughout the world; and, above all that it should identify itself with this great progressive movement on the part of the underprivileged, the oppressed and impoverished peoples of the world.

Yates, Soper, and the Call-up

In opening the meeting Victor Yates, MP, drew attention to the activity of the Labour Peace Fellowship.

George Craddock, MP, as Chairman of the No Conscription Council, said that above all else, he hoped that the Labour Movement would do all in its power to see that the subject of conscription be raised in the United Nations, and that action be taken to compel a reduction of all the armed forces of the world.

Contempt for conscription was expressed also by Dr. Donald Soper.

"This concern for the old conventional war, is based on pretence, hypocrisy and false malpractices: it is something far removed from the practical requirements of World War III—which God forbid. If war comes our soldiers will not be sent to a battle field; they will be sent to a place of safety, that they may the better press the button in New York, which will release the rocket in New York, which will drop its bombs on Moscow."

Yet the government would allow this nonsense to continue unless the people called its bluff.

"I believe the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," he continued. "It may be that fear of the atomic bomb will make us see that we cannot go on mucking about with cosmic forces."

But it was no more immoral to kill with an atom bomb, than to kill in any other way. War itself was the wrong.

He believed that there could be no true socialist policy which was not rooted in morality—in what he would call the will of God. The dialectic of the socialist movement could never be purely utilitarian. If it rejected the theistic view of life, it must at least be scientific, based on the inevitability of certain natural laws, and in harmony with the character of the universe.

DOWN (Lieut.-Gen. Sir E.) AMONG THE DEAD MEN

WHILE statesmen dash around the world striving to prevent the next war by every means short of sanity, practical men of action in the armed forces are quietly preparing to win it.

Recent news items of military and naval activity give revealing hints of the nature of the next war.

Take the Navy, for instance.

Few souls could have remained unstirred by the news of the annexation of the island of Rockall.

The landing party that embraced this bit of sacred soil to the Britannic bosom did the job with dignity, a plaque and a kiss from a geologist; thus proving, in case you ever doubted it, that the meteor flag of England doth still terrific burn.

When we first heard of the affair, we could not help remembering that other remote island, featured in a famous modern novel, which almost caused a war to break out between England and Norway, a ship from each navy having laid claim to it.

Peace was restored only when it became clear that the island possessed certain queer characteristics that made it unsuitable for annexation; for instance, its fauna was unbelievably pink, it became visible only after libations of whisky or schnapps, and it disappeared entirely after aspirins and black coffee.

Rockall, however, is quite another kettle of guilemots.

Cited as it is in a thousand weather forecasts, its reality cannot be doubted. All that may be doubted is whether the public fully appreciate the significance of the addition to the Commonwealth and Empire.

Its annexation, according to the Admiralty announcement, was necessary "because the island is within the orbit of the projected guided weapons range in the Hebrides."

This represents a complete overthrow of the historic convention in these matters. Guided weapons and other interesting novelties, as everyone knows, are the free world's instruments of salvation and liberation. It used to be the custom to annex a territory after it had been liberated.

It is now clear that the naval authorities realise that, in the nuclear age, annexation must precede liberation.

They know that on any island, territory or continent unfortunate enough to be liberated by modern methods there won't be enough solid matter left for a geologist to kiss.

BUT there is still hope for humanity. Egypt, it was recently announced, became the first country to ratify the international Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.

The convention was adopted at a Unesco conference, and sets up a kind of cultural "Red Cross" under whose banner "works of art, monuments and historic buildings

will receive the same sort of protection as is now universally given to hospitals, ambulances and medical personnel in time of war."

The banner is a flag with a blue and white shield.

This is an interesting and encouraging development. There is something comforting about a blue and white shield, and no doubt we shall soon see it printed on the office stationery of Messrs. Vickers Armstrong and Messrs. Krupps.

After all, if too many of a country's monuments are destroyed, it is difficult to keep a war going.

If the practice continues, though, of employing heraldic devices to ward off the evil eye of modern war, there soon won't be any legitimate military targets left, with the possible exception of retired colonels and their ladies in seaside hotels, who will probably, therefore, be safer than ever.

Still, as anti-nuclear protection, a blue and white shield is probably as good as a sheet of brown paper.

MORE information about mili-

tary targets arose out of the recent military lark on Salisbury Plain, when our splendid infantry spent lashings of taxpayers' money in defending the virtue of innumerable British grandmothers against the brutal atomic attacks of the Fantasia enemy.

This was grim, realistic warfare, complete with umpires and little red labels to stick on those who were dead.

The exercise led to an interesting conclusion. Its director, Lieutenant-General Sir Ernest Down, contemplating the 390 dead men resulting from a simulated atomic explosion, declared that "the man who was the closest to the enemy was the safest, because the enemy obviously would not drop an atomic bomb near his own troops."

He added: "Instead of the men 'up the sharp end' doing the maximum digging, now and in the future it will apply to behind the lines and right back."

One receives, from all this, a confused impression of what the next war will be like.

On the outbreak of hostilities, the opposing armies will rush madly to embrace each other, seeking safety in proximity. The rival governments will come to an agreement to send the soldiers back home, so that they can get on with the war. The populations, threatened with liberation, will plead to be annexed. The last scene features Down among the dead men, distributing red labels and urging survivors to get dug in.

But don't worry about your little 'Army'. Mrs. Skins. The umpires will see fair play. And all the time, a bland-faced, soft-footed little man from Unesco will be creeping round fixing blue and white shields on places like the Admiralty and the War Office, which are already monumentally historic.

CYRIL HUGHES.

"It is my confident belief," he continued, "that conscription is not only bad but unnatural; that war is not only bad, but also unnatural, that the division and separation between countries, is not only bad, but also unnatural."

If the Labour Party would take its courage in both hands, if the marriage of morals and practice once again became central to the movement, then Labour's victory would be inevitable.

[The Labour Peace Fellowship—page 4]

"Children of Hiroshima"

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Entered as second-

Lab
M

By EMR

MANY explanation at the General able to blame the Labour Party has been the pacifists have been

Sitting in the Con help thinking of the people who were there

For it was at Ma Conference decided to

Some of us strong resolution was introduced by Morrison and even b

Now it doesn't l ever subsequent even a minority against th what has happened to

Then the Labour C world.

What brought the L Why Labour fell

It was the rise in p programme and Korea was the decision to end that split the Labour G leaving the Cabinet, and that followed among the

It wasn't the failure the economic and polit idea that we could only continuing two year negotiating from strengt

When Labour swi poison at Margate in ness of the Labour followed. And when recovers or not depe makes up its mind a complete change of o is fundamentally a p the issues that now fa

Now I didn't expect Party Conference sudde that would have m swallowing their own votes suddenly going er where they have been rather soon for that yet

Signs of a changed m But there were signs that is inevitably comi conscription, which is the key political issues.

Had the Labour P two years ago against year against German provisions of the Par would have won the C

But the Labour lead their minds, their spe and hesitating, as they v and nobody could say tended doing if they wer

So the people of Br been rallied against the war in the atomic age d was the difference betw heads and didn't bother Labour back in again.

At Margate last we Conference declared defi call-up and Mr. Attlee i questioning the value of

Quite right, but rat surely this should have and the Labour Party w Paris Treaty which d armies and conscripts

Importance of rank-ar So now that Labour h for a cut in the call-up

If can't honestly den up if at the same tim foreign policy based o If all that Attlee has s is true then Labour sh end of conscription.

But apart from this significant decision, th remain very much as the declaration of policy, e executive to enquire and that and the other thin to inspire a dejected ran

One gets the feeling th the Labour Party in dictated by events and n clearly thought out pol spring and imaginative h how the Labour Party in

ON BAC

THE CALL-UP CAMPS

□ FROM PAGE ONE

The Commanding Officer said that he had to be a headmaster as well as commander. He found it difficult to organise their leisure. The men found it expensive to travel far. They get no overseas allowance, and they were just fed up. In reply to my question one soldier said: "I've got 84 days to go." Yes, they even count the half days.

On manoeuvres, the men are being trained for war conditions. They live rough with tents or holes in the ground. They even preferred that to the petty discipline of the barracks.

Some Germans are not quite so friendly to them. I saw the tanks tearing up the roads, and our soldiers repairing the damage. I doubt if this kind of life will be tolerated for the period of 44 years as envisaged by the Paris agreements.

A GIGANTIC WASTE

There is much more I could write. There is ample evidence to support the contention that there is a gigantic waste of manpower, and the men resent the needless interruption in their careers.

They are frustrated, and feel there is a colossal waste of wealth and time: bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, clerks, engineers and artists doing work for which they have never been trained. Yet the nation needs their skill and labour.

Beyond the first few weeks very little is to be learned, and a severe cut in conscription, as a step towards its abolition, is a practical possibility and a national necessity.

Now is the time for action.

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